

THE CATHOLIC MIND

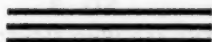
VOL. XXXVII

JUNE 22, 1939

No. 876

WAR!

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May Catholics Wage War?
What About Propaganda?
Who Decides on Fighting?**



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VOL. XXXVII

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War: What Is the Problem for the Individual?

GERALD VANN, O.P.

Reprinted from the Dublin Review (London), April, 1939.

THE problem of war can never be far from our minds in these days of continual threat of war; and its moral aspect is constantly debated in the correspondence columns of the Catholic press. That is as it should be. Tension is the pre-condition of vital progress; theological disagreement generates dogma, because it is only through the dialectic of inquiry and discussion that truth emerges. But in this case there is cause for uneasiness; because the problem is a particularly pressing one, and because far too often the essential point of the problem is missed by those who engage in the discussion. On an issue such as this, in which the deepest loyalties of the individual are involved, we cannot allow the lack of sympathy which was manifested during the September crisis; that should be self-evident. But it will be a tragedy if the lack of understanding of the point at issue, which was also manifested during the crisis, is allowed to continue. That is why a statement, not of the conclusion of one side or

the other, but of the real problem which faces us, seems to be called for.

To ask "Are there not still things worth fighting for?" is to pose a pseudo-problem. To ask "Is war today any more beastly than it has always been?" is to pose a pseudo-problem. "Does not the Church hold that war may be justified?"; "Are not all the evils which war involves less grave than the moral evil of permitting injustice?"; "Isn't it better to go down fighting rather than preserve our civilization at the expense of our honor?"—all these are, at this stage, pseudo-problems. There is only one practical problem for the individual today.

Catholic theology has traditionally taught that war may be a right, and even a duty. It has also laid down certain conditions which must be fulfilled in order that the war may be justified. We shall not have a clear idea of Catholic teaching unless we start from both these considerations. If we concentrate exclusively on the conditions of the just war we may tend to forget the principles of international justice. If we concentrate on the broader principles of international justice we may forget the narrower issues which war involves. We are bound to oppose injustice; but we are bound to oppose it justly. In its treatment of the problem of war, theology distinguishes two different, but equally important, questions. There is the question of initiating war; there is the question of waging the war once initiated.

A JUST WAR?

When can a war be justly initiated? The conditions are well-known: a proper authority, a just cause, a right intention, namely, that good be promoted and evil avoided. It is commonly accepted that war must be the very last resort, that discussion, arbitration, must have first been tried. Today, moreover, it may be said to be commonly accepted by theologians that

only defensive war can be justified; this was the conclusion reached by the International Congress of Theologians at Fribourg, and their conclusion was in line with that of Cardinals Faulhaber and Verdier and other leading churchmen. And it is important to notice that in formulating this conclusion they were not departing from traditional teaching. On the contrary. As Cardinal Faulhaber has pointed out, "Catholic theology will remain true to its principles, but with regard to the problem of war it will take account of the new facts." The conclusion is necessitated by the application of the old principles to the new facts. Some of those facts—those concerned with means—must be considered later; for the moment, we may notice the fact that a modern large-scale war involves damage to the whole world, non-combatant nations included, and is likely to end in the disruption of European civilization as we know it, and in "anarchy and revolution" in Earl Baldwin's famous phrase. In other words, an offensive war can hardly be initiated that "good be promoted and evil avoided." But whatever we may think of the possibility of a just offensive war today, it is not for us the real problem, for it is not in an offensive war that we are likely to be involved. Let us accept, then, at least as a working hypothesis, the conclusion of the Fribourg Congress, that a defensive war may be justified in face of unprovoked aggression, and we may add that participation in the defense by the allies of the invaded country is equally permissible. That answers only one of the two questions; we have now to turn to the second: Under what conditions may a war, justly initiated, be justly waged?

UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS MAY A JUST WAR BE WAGED?

Here we have first to remind ourselves of the traditional Catholic teaching with regard to the morality of ends and means in general. The end can never

justify the means. Saint Thomas, treating of the morality of human action, states the principle: *bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocunque defectu*: an action is good only if each element in it is good, it is bad if any one of those elements is bad. What are those elements? He distinguishes the character of the action in itself, the motive of the individual in doing the action, and the circumstances which attend it—time, place, manner, the means employed, the quality of the person acting, the quality or quantity of the material of the action. Thus an action which is in itself right, and done from a good motive, will, nevertheless, be a wrong action if wrong means are employed. To play a banjo in order to revive the spirits of a depressed child is, one may suppose, a good action, but if it be done in the bedroom of a person suffering from a nervous breakdown it is likely to become a bad action. The old theologians would have said that the *ubi* was ill-advised. In the same way, if in order to play the banjo to amuse the child I steal the banjo, the action is bad because the means are bad. The *quibus auxiliis* was ill-advised.

A war, then, which has a perfectly just *cause*, may none the less be an unjust war if the *means* employed are unjust. That is why the theology of war has gone in such detail into the question of means; and why discussion of the moral permissibility of war so often misses the point, since it confines itself to the question of a just cause and a right intention.

Let us take two criteria from the mass of doctrine concerning the just means of war. It has traditionally been held that for the waging of a war to be just, (1) it must avoid the killing *directa intentione* of the civil population; and (2) the fighting must be conducted with charity. Against those two conditions let us set two facts, which are generally admitted. War today includes the killing *directa intentione* of civil populations; it is conducted on a basis of hate-

propaganda. It is presumably fair to say that these two facts are beyond question. We have only to reflect that towards the end of the last war our leaders were discussing plans for destroying the morale of the enemy population by air raids, and to consider for a moment the A. R. P. precautions that are going on in Europe, to convince ourselves of the first. With regard to the second, we are not likely, in a future war, to fall behind the achievements of the last; on the contrary, the disgust for modern war methods on the part of the ordinary people is such that only an intensive campaign of propaganda could keep a war going.

MAY CATHOLICS TAKE PART IN WAR?

Here, then, we approach the real problem. We are forbidden, as Catholics, to take part in the *directa intentione* killing of civilians; we are forbidden to hate our neighbor, no matter what his nationality or the sins of his political leaders. The question for us, then, is simply this: Can we take part in war today without

- (a) actually committing these sins;
- (b) cooperating in their commission;
- (c) giving justifiable scandal by appearing to acquiesce in them?

That is the question we have to answer. And if only we can keep discussion to that, and avoid the irrelevancies which are a commonplace in the ordinary Catholic newspaper controversy, we shall have achieved something. It is quite possible, of course, that we shall find ourselves faced with the prospect of a war in which even the justice of the cause will be debatable, but if recent experience is any guide, that is less likely. What is more likely is that, if we find ourselves faced with a prospect of war in which the cause is justified, there will be recriminations against those who find themselves unable to participate because of the means involved, and the recriminations will repre-

sent them as refusing to defend a just cause. That is a scandal, and that is why it is so important to be clear about the twofold character of the problem of war. In former days it was left to the theologians to debate the moral perplexities of the time, and while they differed acrimoniously about the conclusions, they were at least acquainted with each other's premises and principles. Today the discussion is likely to be continued in the correspondence pages of the press, and to be conducted largely by non-theologians; is it too much to hope that before they thus embark on one of the most difficult and tragic problems of our time they should acquaint themselves with the premises and principles—and avoid irrelevant recriminations?

TO WHAT EXTENT MAY WE TAKE PART IN WAR?

Let us be clear about our terms. What is meant by cooperation? Theologians distinguish two kinds of cooperation: formal and material. If I help the pilot of an aeroplane *in order that* he may massacre the civil population, that is formal cooperation. I share in his sin as such. If I help him under the justifiable impression that his objective is a lawful one, that is merely material cooperation: I share in the physical event, not in the sin as such. Now between these two extremes there are endless possible cases about which it is very difficult indeed to judge. Formal cooperation in another's sin is always sinful, that is clear. But what of material cooperation in which there is knowledge of the sin, but not consent to it? We have to consider the extension of cooperation. Captain Philip Mumford has asked: "Where is the difference between burning babies yourself and assisting or encouraging the pilot of an aeroplane to do it, or a prime minister to order it?" We have to consider to what extent an integral part of a deliberate policy must be considered essential to it and so determinant of its morality as a whole: to organize relief for desti-

tute children is an excellent thing, but if the organization finds one of its chief financial supports in a system of fraudulent share-pushing it becomes a bad thing. We have to consider that the morality of an action is affected by an objectively bad circumstance if the agent is conscious of it, whether he wills it or not: to commit a sin of injustice knowing that it will cause scandal is to commit a sin of scandal also, whether one wills to give scandal or not. It will be seen, therefore, that to ask to what extent, if at all, the individual may take part in a war today without becoming involved in one of the three evils noted above, commission, cooperation, scandal, involves discussion of three other questions:

- (a) how far evil means are certain to be used;
- (b) how far they are essential to a future war;
- (c) how far a future war can be regarded as "divisible."

The first of these questions has been answered. The second and third questions represent the main task of the theologian today in dealing with the problem of the individual and modern war.

If we take the question of the direct killing of civil populations, there is an obvious distinction to be made. Incidental excesses on the part of subordinates is one thing, policy on the part of the leaders quite another. A war can hardly be condemned *en bloc* because now and again this or that airman indulges in the massacring of civilians; though it is true that if this incidental activity on the part of subordinates assumed grave proportions it would be justifiable to regard it as at least having come to be sponsored by the leaders, and therefore as forming part of their policy. But the real question is this: when, as is likely, the bombing of civil populations forms part of the general war plan of a nation can participation in the war waged

by that nation be said to be justified? The answer must depend on whether we think war can be regarded as divisible or not—i. e., whether, if evil means are employed in one department, we may licitly take part in the activities of other departments, whether, if belonging to the air force involves the use of evil means, we may, nevertheless, join the infantry. Now *prima facie* this would certainly seem to be the case. I can say "I regard the bombing of civil populations as evil, and I will not take part in it, but in the infantry I shall not be asked to take part in it, so I will join the infantry." But the issue is not so simple, as the above quotation from Captain Mumford shows.

HATE-PROPAGANDA

Can we apply the same line of reasoning to the question of hate-propaganda? In that respect the war, at least from the point of view of the government, is more obviously not divisible, hate-propaganda does not invite the army to hate but the navy to love. Can we then say, "But hate is in the mind. I can refuse to hate, refuse to be influenced by the propaganda, and so licitly fight"? Whichever way we answer that question, it brings us to perhaps the most difficult question of all, the question of scandal. The issue is clear: we know from the last war the scandal that was given by the indulgence on the part of Catholics, clergy and others, in what was at least tantamount to hate-propaganda; people outside the Church, disgusted by the spectacle of what they excusably regarded as a flagrant contradiction between the teaching of Christ and the behavior of Christians, between Christian theory and practice, were led in some cases to a repudiation of Christianity, in others perhaps to active condemnation of the Church, in all cases to further estrangement from it. Scandal means the causing of spiritual loss to another by one's own actions. So to act, therefore, that people will be led

away from Christianity instead of towards it—and with excuse—is to give scandal. Now we are faced today with a very widespread horror of the war methods which we have been considering; and very grave scandal is caused if it is thought that Christians are either acquiescent in them or actively participate in them. Can we then so participate in war as to avoid the danger of being thought to acquiesce or actively take part in such evils as the bombing of civil populations or the fomenting of hatred?

One thing seems to be certain. It would be at any rate much easier if Catholics—better of course, if all Christians—could organize themselves into a unanimous body which could voice its views as a body. It might then be possible to repudiate, corporately, both the use of such evil material means as the bombing of civil populations, and of such evil moral means as the fomenting of hatred, and then to take part, again as a body, in fighting from which these evils should have been removed. There would still be much to discuss; but at least the issue would be more clear-cut. As it is, we are dealing with probabilities; and the probability is that in any future crisis the individual will find himself obliged to act as an individual, and so to decide for himself what as an individual he may licitly do. And he is bound to remember that, although he has to decide and to act as an individual, still he is not merely an individual: he has a responsibility toward the Church, for his conduct will be taken as the conduct of a Christian, and any judgment passed on his conduct will be passed also on the Church. If, then, he finds himself in the position of being convinced that the cause of his country is a just one, but that the war which his country is about to wage will include the use of means which he knows to be wrong, it is on the double issue of the divisibility of war in itself, and of the probability of giving legitimate scandal that he must make up his mind.

A PROBLEM FOR CATHOLICS

That, surely, is the real problem, as opposed to the many pseudo-problems; and it is a real dilemma, from which there is no easy or obvious issue. Because we believe that there is such a thing, whether we like it or not, as international society; that there are certain principles of justice which bind the component parts of that international society, and that the component parts have the duty of seeing that those principles are put into practise; because also we believe that material advantage is not the final criterion of action, but on the contrary that material advantage must be governed by moral principles, that expediency is no criterion if it comes in conflict with absolutes; because we believe all this, we believe also that there can be occasions when war is a right, and even a duty. We cannot lightly, therefore, refuse to play our part in a war the object of which is precisely to uphold and defend the absolute principles of justice against the use of force for the sake of material advantage or expediency. We cannot hold that because war is a nasty business we had better let international justice look after itself. We can never refuse to admit the justifiability of war in such a case as that. But—and this is the point which is so often missed, to the stultifying of all arguments—we are bound as individuals to consider that what we are concerned with is not the kind of war which we might wage if left to ourselves; not the kind of war which would be waged if Catholic principles were scrupulously followed out; but that particular kind of war which others will arrange for us, and that particular kind only. That is the main practical reason why there is a dilemma. We are faced, in such a hypothesis as the above, with two alternatives: an unjust peace (if the nation does not go to war when it is bound so to do—e. g., when an ally, victim of unjust aggres-

sion, calls for aid to defend its life), or on the other hand, an unjust war (if the nation goes to war and employs means which are immoral). *If* it is found to be true that war is in fact indivisible in the sense defined above; or *if* for any other reason, such as the inescapable giving of justifiable scandal, participation in it is found to be immoral, then we are bound to search for other ways of fulfilling our obligation to resist injustice; that is clear. Our first business then is to answer that one question, the permissibility of participation.

THE INDIVIDUAL MUST DECIDE

It is not the purpose of this article to offer an answer to the question. One has been concerned simply to make the question itself as clear as may be. It is absolutely necessary that we should, as a body, be clear about the problem of means, in this context as in every other, and in this context more urgently perhaps than in any other. It is so easy to be influenced by the pagan morality of expediency which surrounds us; and if we allow ourselves to be so influenced, if we allow ourselves to think that provided a cause is good, any means which will attain it are good also, then we are involving the Church, in the eyes of others, in our own betrayal of Christian principles. The end does not justify the means; and if contemporary history means anything, it surely means that we are called to examine our consciences very thoroughly with regard to precisely this point, and to refuse any longer to take our cue, where the employment of means is concerned, from those who are not concerned with the realization of, and obedience to, the principles of Christianity. We are surely wrong if we expect the Pope to give us a cut-and-dried decision, or wait until he does so rather than make up our own minds: precisely because the question is so complex, because it depends, once outside the realm of principle, on con-

tingencies which cannot with certainty be foreseen and which necessarily differ from nation to nation and from age to age, while the Pope, speaking for and to the whole Church is bound to be concerned only with the general moral law and not with particular political events, it devolves ultimately on the nationals of each country to decide for themselves, in the light of what they know of their country's policy and circumstances on the one hand, and in the light of the general and unchanging principles of Catholic thought on the other.

There are many factors to be considered in regard to modern war in general which have not been considered here, though they cannot be set aside if Christian principles are to be properly applied to the world in which we live. They have not been considered here, because we in this country can surely feel that where the justice of a cause is in question there is at least a reasonable chance of our either finding ourselves in agreement or else at least understanding clearly our differences. The question of the morality of means is at once the question with which we are most likely to be faced, and the question with which we are most likely to disagree amongst ourselves, and the question about which there is likely to be least understanding of one another's positions. It is on that, then, that we ought surely to concentrate our attention, and our efforts to reach some sort of adequate solution. Is it too much to hope that, when we have made up our minds as far as we are able, by a really deep and comprehensive grasp of the question in all its complexity, we may be in a position to treat those who differ from us, not with recrimination and suspicion, but with sympathy, understanding, and respect?

Peace Through Justice

JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

Address delivered at the annual meeting of the Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, D. C., April 10, 1939.

NEVER, in the history of the world, has the utterance of four short syllables produced such instantaneous, momentous and universal effect as did the utterance of the syllables **EUGENIUM** when pronounced at the proclamation of Pope Pius XII.

Immediately, as by a universal instinct, the Pope was hailed as a champion of justice, peace and freedom against the menace of totalism. The words he spoke on the occasion of his coronation were universally acclaimed. The world gratefully remembers his long and brilliant career as Papal Secretary of State, spent in ceaseless toil for international and domestic peace among all peoples. The motto of his Cardinal's coat-of-arms, *Opus justitiae pax*, "Peace is the work or fruit of justice," words used 700 years ago by Saint Thomas Aquinas and 700 years before Christ by the Prophet Isaias, expresses a principle for which the world clamors today: the establishment of peace through the safeguarding and execution of justice; justice to peoples, to nations and to individuals.

How, then, is this principle to be understood?

The two opposing camps now contending for the mastery in Europe agree upon one thing. They both base their claims upon justice. Apparently the day is past when anyone dares admit he is making war for the sake of making war. The twenty-years' activities of the League of Nations may not have provided the world with an adequate formula for pre-

venting war; but they certainly imbedded in our international relations an uncomfortable necessity to save one's face by at least a pretense of justice.

"Justice to minorities," says Hitler. "Justice to our minority," say the groups who line up in their own defense against Nazism and Fascism in this country and abroad.

Strangely enough, those who most vehemently oppose Hitler have, to some extent, allowed themselves to be led captive by his way of thinking.

When the mice ate the remnants of young Adolf Hitler's scanty supper of the evening before, as he woke of a cold morning in his cheerless room in a Munich infantry barracks, he was pained to the heart by the anomalies and contradictions which existed in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire as a nation organized upon a minorities basis.

Fully accepting this minority idea, he engineered his bloodless path of conquest by claiming the rights of minority and majority groups. His tremendous dynamism feeds from that source. The Jewish minority, in Germany and the German "protectorates," is attacked in the name of the "Aryan" majority, whom the minority are supposed to poison and destroy. But German minority groups are called upon as champions against the Jews in the neighboring countries. Not that their various minority rights are considered objectively; for the large and important German minority in northern Italy is ignored.

The minority idea is no formula for real justice. Like the threat of war, it is a pure instrument of national policy. But it has boundless leverage. If skillfully used, it places your adversary in the very position you have assigned to him. This truth, unfortunately, is verified here at home.

In this country, in great measure, we have been replying to Hitler exactly in kind. Mass meetings of protest are held to express the sympathy and concern

of minorities in the United States with the fate of kindred minorities abroad.

Such expressions of sympathy are entirely justified. The rights of certain European minority groups have been woefully violated, precisely as minorities. The position which these groups have long held in the national community has been, in many instances, wantonly destroyed. They are deprived of means of representation. They are exploited, robbed, exiled. With the destruction of minority rights, one of the basic factors in domestic and international peace in Europe is destroyed along with it.

But the appeal to minority rights, as they exist in Europe or elsewhere, is not the most effective basis upon which Americans may appeal for justice for Europe's persecuted peoples. It is no basis at all upon which to construct our own resistance to the advance of totalist ideas here in the United States.

The United States is not a minority nation. In this country we have no minorities endowed with legal rights or status; none linguistic or national, none religious or cultural, none racial, unless we except the peculiar but not permanent status of the American Indian. We have racial restrictions, legal and illegal, but no racial rights to correspond to them, hence no true minorities.

The United States recognizes only individual human beings, each of them endowed with certain inalienable rights. Our country respects the legal existence of the several religious bodies. But it respects these organisms as representing the convictions of its citizens, not as constituting distinct civic or cultural groups.

If we fear persecution from abroad or the establishment of political or racial tyranny here, let us appeal to the true American concept of citizenship, the dignity and destiny of the human person as a spiritual being, responsible to his Creator. This is the

idea which underlies a Christian democracy, and underlies our American democracy in particular.

The immediate objection, however, to any attempt to counteract war and violence by an appeal to justice for the human person, is that justice stands no show against the dynamism of an appeal to force, national and racial pride. At the present moment the advocates of justice are woefully on the defensive. The pacts they relied upon are scraps of paper; their conference halls are deserted by those whom they would call to task; their warnings and moralizings are unheeded.

The trouble, however, is not with the idea of justice. The trouble lies in the fact that what stands for justice in most people's minds is woefully circumscribed. It is not justice which is at fault as a servant of peace; it is an insufficiency of justice.

Justice, to be adequate justice, must be justice to all men; without any exception whatsoever: justice to all classes and races of men; justice to the non-believer as well as to the believer; to the criminal as well as to the well-behaved. It may suit our likings or our emotions to classify or select. But justice knows no such distinctions. Its essence is total and universal impartiality for all men, for all aspects of men, under all circumstances. It was the recognition of this elementary truth which caused 250,000 people to gather yesterday afternoon before the Lincoln Memorial to listen to one singer (Marion Anderson) whose individual talent refused to be circumscribed by any artificially imposed limits of social group or race.

In other words, the totalist rule of force, pride and passion can only be combated by a *total justice*; totalism of moral wrong by the totalism of moral right. David can slay Goliath with a sling; but just the same, that sling must be a complete sling, it cannot afford to be cracked or bent or cleft.

Justice, to be adequate, must not only extend to all persons without exception whatsoever; it must also extend to the whole of man, and the whole of man includes his religious nature. Adequate justice, therefore, must respect the rights of religion. The darkest chapters in the history of the League of Nations began after it had made the fatal decision to include in its organization a government which was formally established for the purpose of combating religion.

As long as the rights of religion are not respected, how can we call upon religion to defend justice?

There is nothing more grossly inconsistent than to call upon religion to defend the world against wrongs to the human person, and yet to clothe with an almost mystic reverence those revolutionary movements which make their supreme activity and purpose in life the assault upon religion and all that religion represents.

Even a brief reflection on this matter will show the illogical, the self-destructive position of those persons who have recently called upon the Pope in impassioned accents to rally to the cause of justice, of what they conceive as justice, without apparently any previous examination of the actual facts in the case—and yet totally ignore with this same mystic reverence, the assaults committed upon religion and religion's rights in the very regions whose welfare lies so much to their hearts.

The acclaim given to the Pope's discourse of yesterday, Easter Sunday, witnesses to a universal recognition in the democratic countries that the Holy Father possesses and commands the sole spiritual force existing today that can effectively combat the onward rush of totalism. Although the economic factors set the stage for totalism, and nourish it, the evil itself is in the spiritual order.

But this very recognition implies within itself a certain danger. The Pope speaks for justice. He

reiterates today his principle that peace must be based upon justice. He specifies that justice: justice to the poor, to the workingman—the kind of justice that will do away with the curse of unemployment; the justice that fulfills treaty obligation, that respects the spoken and the written word.

The justice which he defends is the justice upon which nations are grounded. But the Pope speaks for no nation, he speaks for no political plan or system.

The Pope speaks first and foremost as a teacher of religion. What he says about justice is what religion says about justice, not what an earthly ruler may devise. If in his wisdom he asks the nations to confer, he asks them as a religious teacher, not a political leader.

If, therefore, the voice of this religious teacher is hailed as a supremely efficacious force in the battle for moral right as opposed to totalist force—is it not the very first claim of justice that the Pope's rights as a religious teacher be respected? The Pope is applauded when he opens his mouth and declares for moral right. But he could not open his mouth, he could not even exist as Pope, did he not possess and strenuously defend certain juridic rights which are essential to his own existence and independence.

Over ninety years ago, Pius XII's predecessor, Pope Pius IX, received an almost hysterical acclaim from the Liberal minds of the day when he said a few words on human rights. But the moment his own rights came into question, his former devotees turned upon him, and were ready to tear him limb from limb.

Previous to that, two other Pius's suffered in the defense of their position as Popes. Pius VI was attacked by the French Revolutionary Directory; Pius VII was imprisoned by Napoleon. In our own day, Pius XI, through the seventeen years of his marvelous pontificate, had ever to struggle with a regime

always ready to reduce the Church to a position of a real, even though outwardly honorable, servitude.

Today, honor is paid to Pius XII for maintaining his rights and the rights of the Church against the unjust claims of the totalist states. Yet the sad experience of history teaches us that if and when he may be called upon to resist the attempts—always humanly possible—of politicians in the so-called democratic countries to harness the Church to their own designs, his popularity may wane as suddenly and completely as did that of Pius IX.

The decision in this matter rests not with Catholics, whose position is already determined by their religious allegiance and faith—but with the men and women of good will in the un-Catholic world—particularly here in the United States.

As Americans and as God-fearing men and women, we Catholics wish to unite with our brethren of other beliefs in the battle for the adequate, universal and permanent recognition of the moral dignity, the inalienable rights of the individual human person, regardless of race, color, nationality or creed. Like them, we look upon this recognition as the foundation of peace at home and abroad. We rejoice with a legitimate joy that they perceive, as we do, the immense spiritual force that is exerted for that end by the Visible Head of the Catholic Church, particularly by so enlightened, experienced and disinterested a head as the late Cardinal Pacelli and present Pope Pius XII. We believe that they wish to honor and respect his office; and that they can honestly do so without thereby feeling obliged to subscribe to the particular teachings of the Catholic Church.

We do, however, request and expect that since they are for justice in *one* thing, that they will be for justice in *all* things—namely, that they will respect the Pope's defense of his own juridic position, as an independent religious teacher, allied with and

affiliated to no political system whatever—as head of a worldwide and concrete religious institution, which operates on the spiritual and not in the political or material order.

If the thinking men and women of America heed Pope Pius, they will be just to his office and to his position. If they are just to him, however, they will openly recognize that he is moved by spiritual principles and not by political ambition, that he can neither be accused of nor affiliated to such ideas.

Justice will bring peace, when justice is complete, universal and unqualified.

A Date With War

IF the Governments of Europe continue to talk to one another, and talk long enough, they may avoid this war that is always waiting around the next corner. They may exhaust themselves with words, pacts, agreements, treaties, alliances. They may so fatigue themselves with preparing the stage for war, that they may be too tired for the murderous tragedy. But we cannot regard their war-diplomacy as comedy. Someone may speak the unforgivable word; someone may blunder into the climactic accident. They may find war in the rendezvous they prepared.

Yet, the Governments profess to be peace-minded. In time of peace, according to the old wisdom, they prepare for war. Governments prepared to throw millions of men into immediate action grow reckless. Thousands of airplanes get restless. Battleships become bored with sham battles. Meanwhile, we Americans try to understand this war game of Europe. We do not like it. We would prefer Europe to play the game of peace, squarely.

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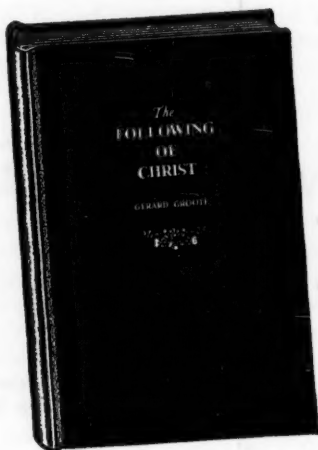
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